

Cursory view
of
Spanish America

Robinson



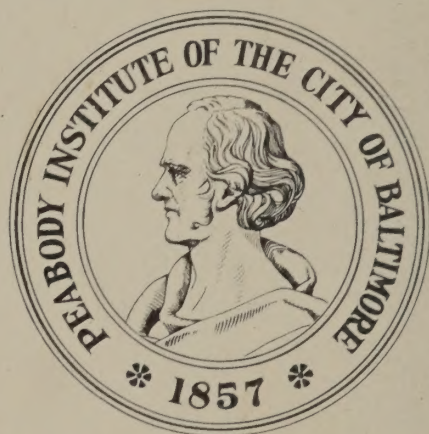


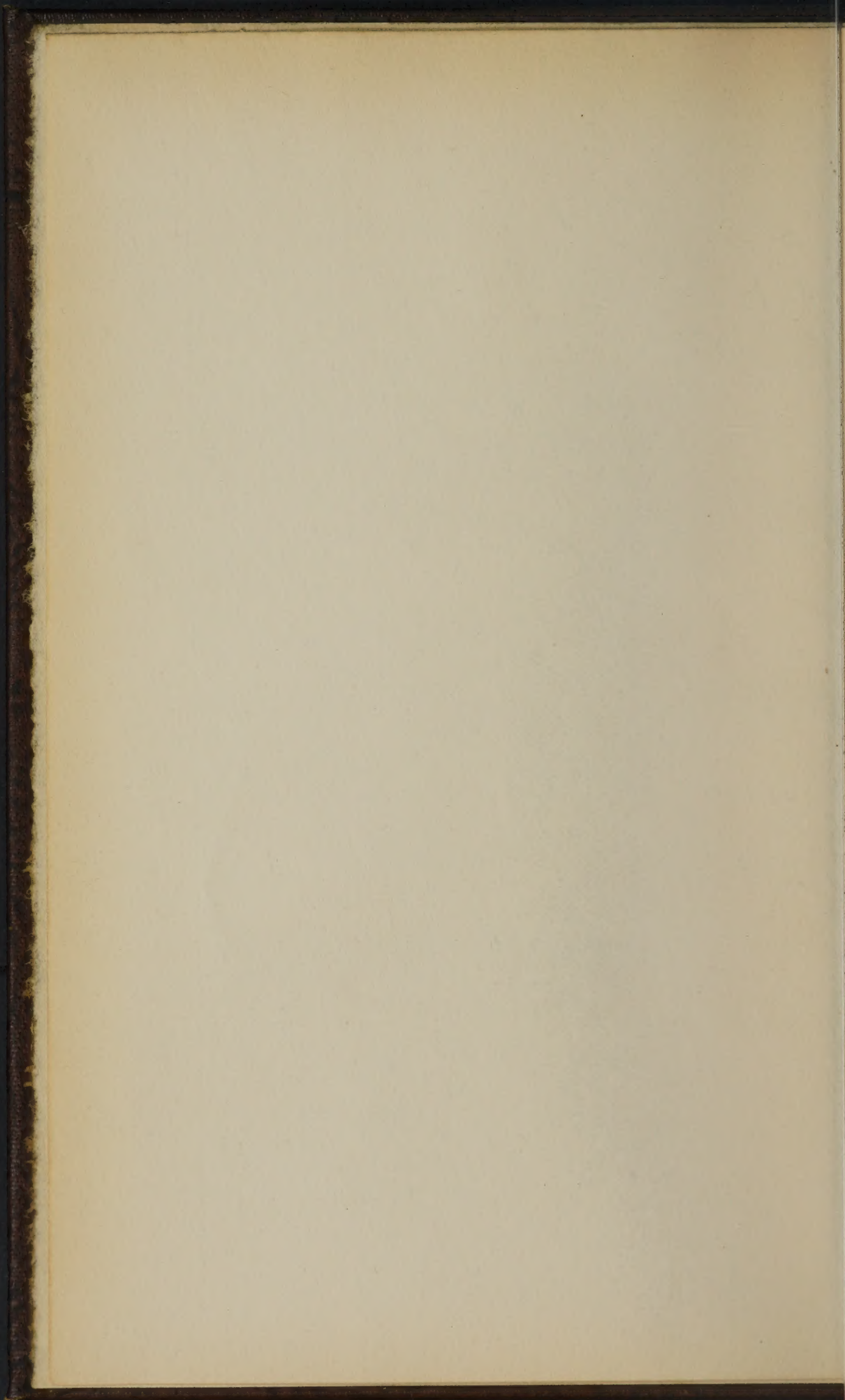


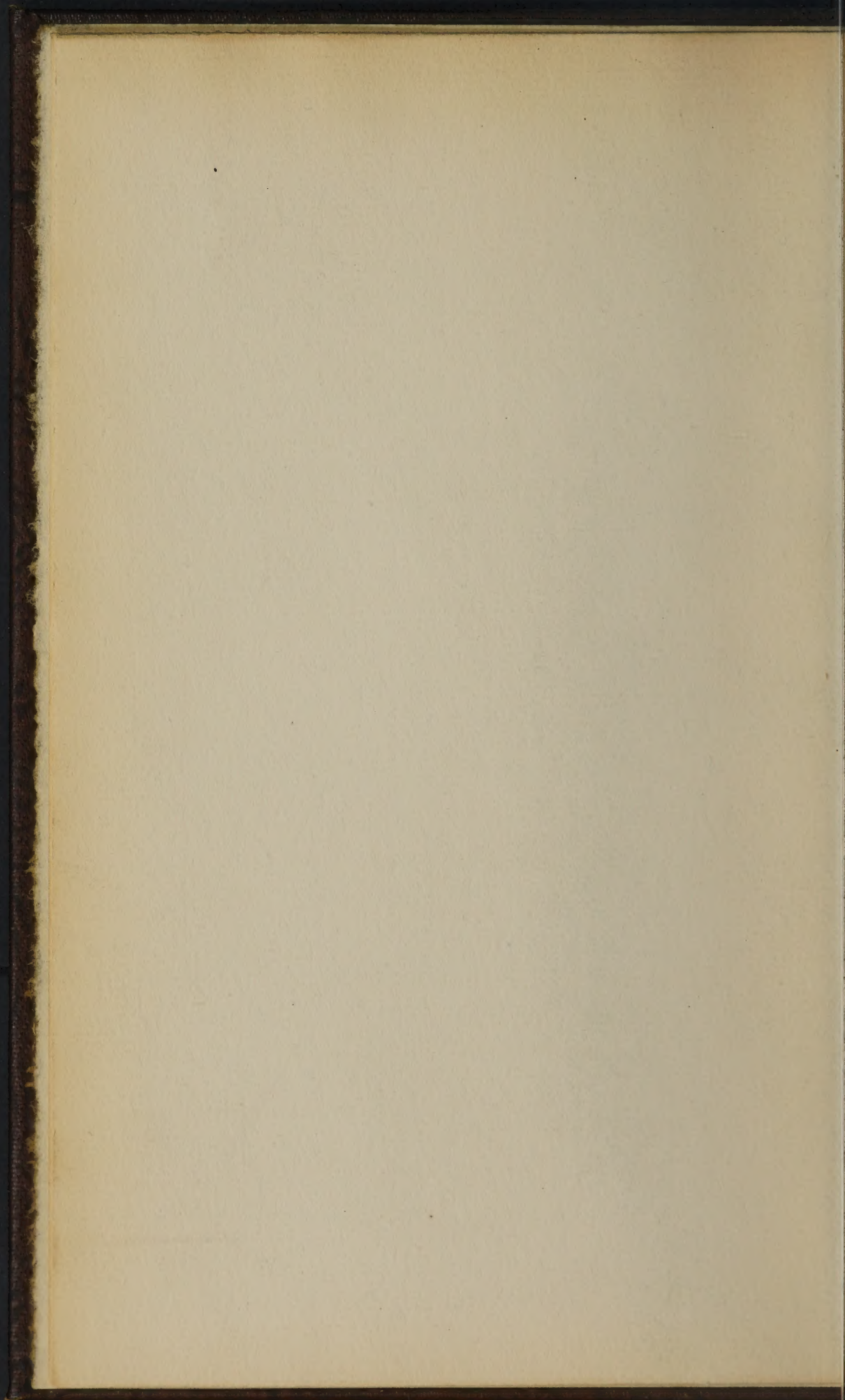


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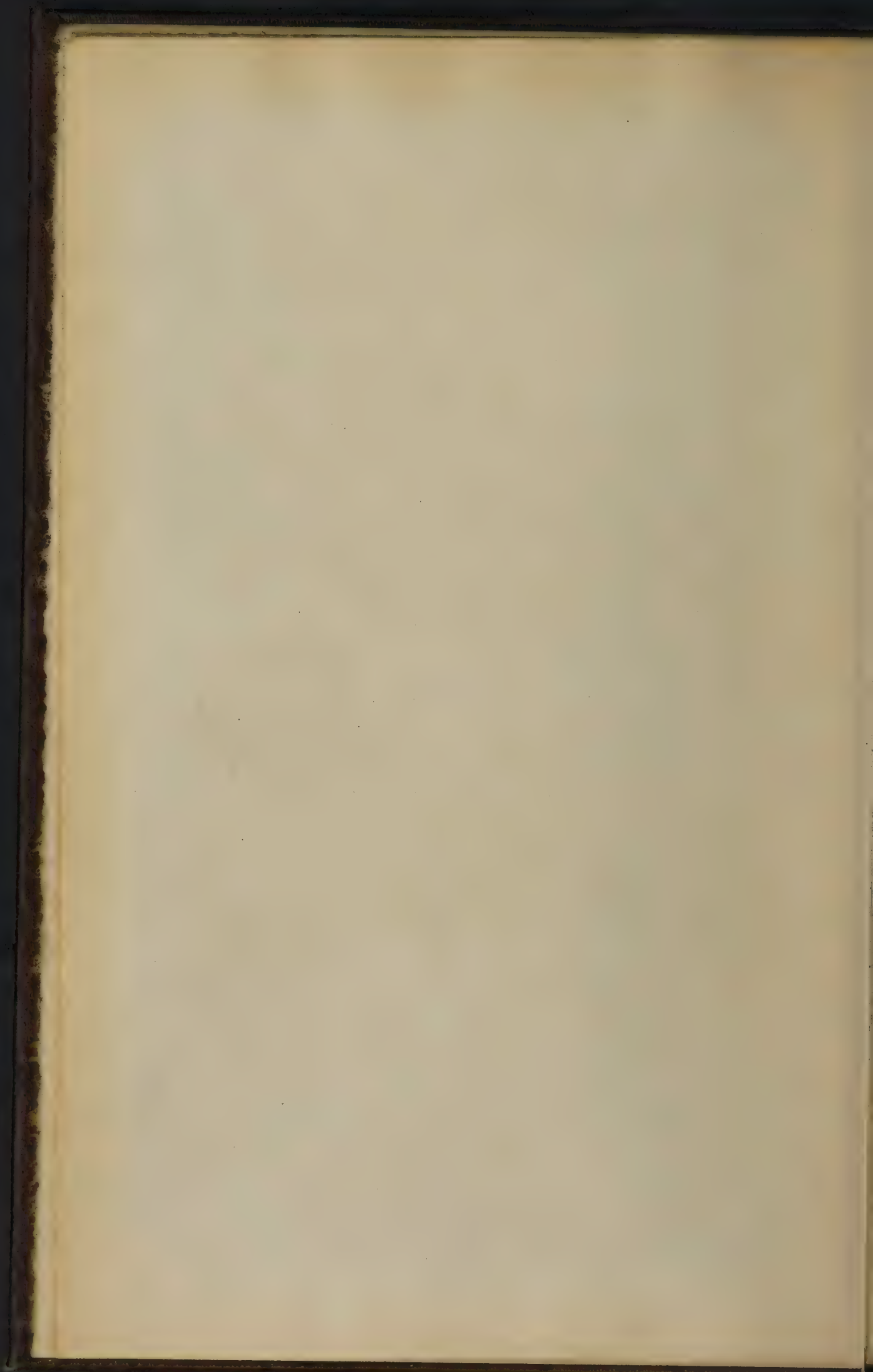
A
CURSORY VIEW
OF
SPANISH AMERICA,
PARTICULARLY
THE NEIGHBORING VICE-ROYALTIES
OF
MEXICO AND NEW GRENADA,
CHIEFLY INTENDED TO ELUCIDATE THE POLICY
of an
EARLY CONNECTION
BETWEEN THE
UNITED STATES
AND THOSE COUNTRIES.

By WILLIAM D. ROBINSON.

GEORGETOWN, D. C.

PUBLISHED BY RICHARDS & MALLORY.

January, 1815.



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A CURSORY VIEW, &c.

THE United States have the means to strike a mortal blow against the power and ambitious views of Great Britain, and I am of opinion we should not hesitate in so doing, provided we can justify ourselves to the surrounding world, by the exercise of all our moral and physical energies to that effect.

The validity of our right to Louisiana is called in question by Great Britain, and as we evince no disposition to dismember our country by negotiation, she has determined on making an experiment to accomplish her views by force of arms, and in so doing she no doubt has received the promise of tacit or positive co-operation on the part of the Cabinet of Spain.

In Pensacola the British have publicly landed munitions of war on a large scale for the avowed purpose of supplying the Indians of Florida, and exciting them to hostilities against us. The recent expedition against Fort Bowyer, consisting of British and Indians, was *fited out at Pensacola*. This act is not only a glaring violation of neutrality on the part of Spain, but in its consequences are involved perhaps the success, or defeat of the British expedition against Louisiana.

The proclamation of an English officer (Edward Nicoll) has been ushered into the world as an official document, and it is highly probable its tenor and spirit are in perfect unison with the views, and conformable to the instructions he had from his own Government. We find from this document that Spain is to co-operate in the project of conquering or seizing Louisiana. The inhabitants of that country are invited to throw off their allegiance

to the United States, and are told that a very large force, as well *Spanish* as British may be daily expected to carry into effect this project.

That Ferdinand VII. should embrace any mad plan of this nature will not appear surprising to those who have noticed his extraordinary conduct since his accession to the Spanish throne ; and less is it a matter of wonder, that England should take advantage of this imbecile monarch to promote her ambitious and ulterior views. It is therefore not improbable that a secret treaty exists between Great Britain and Spain, in which the former holds out as a lure to the latter (on certain conditions) the re-possession of Louisiana. Should however, this treaty exist no where but in the regions of my fancy, there is little doubt of its existence in the disposition and heart of both England and Spain, although perhaps not sanctioned with the formalities of wax and signatures.

The late demands of the British Commissioners at Ghent, clearly develope the ambitious views of the British Cabinet, and the plans and operations she intended to pursue, as soon as the Congress of Vienna would release her from those shackles which the present military state of Europe imposes her to wear.

From the facts already stated, I infer that the period has arrived, or is not very distant, when Spain has, or will have the folly or temerity, to throw the glove of defiance, and unite with Great Britain in the invasion and dismemberment of our territory.—

Fatal day for Spain, when such a treaty may have been signed, or such a scheme agreed on!—Auspicious moment for the inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere! From that day the glory and splendor of the Spanish Monarchy ceases forever! The proud Castilian may then wrap himself up in the mantle of departed dignity, and

together with the gloomy offspring of fanaticism, may cast their fruitless sighs over departed power, and shed their unavailing tears at the shrine of superstition.

The United States have hitherto pursued a cautious, and perhaps correct policy towards Mexico, and that portion of South America, which has been struggling for independence, or emancipation from Spain. Perhaps it may have been right, whatever our interests might have plead to the contrary, to have persevered in that line of policy, until the present momentous period, when the conduct and views of Great Britain and Spain, impel us to a new and more interesting course of proceedings.

I think the period has arrived, when it becomes necessary to carefully examine, how far our aid to, and operations with those who are contending for the *Independence* of Mexico and South America, may inflict a sudden, unexpected and unerring wound on the commerce and designs of England, and how far we possess the means to accelerate and fix the destinies of seventeen millions of people.—For this purpose, and to promote a subject so deeply interesting to humanity and the whole civilized world, the writer offers the following opinions or tracts on this section of the globe.

That Spain (a little peninsula of Europe) should hold in perpetuity dominion over the vast continent of South America and Mexico, could never have been intended by the laws of nature or the decrees of Heaven, and I trust that the latter are now about to be revealed, and that the United States of North America are to be made the instrument of liberating the whole Western world from the tyranny of Europe.

Future ages will scarcely consider it credible that a region embracing one fifth part of our Globe, abound-

ing in the productions of every zone, with a soil unequalled in fertility, and a diversity of climate adapted to every want of man, with resources of the most commanding nature, as well as indefinite in their extent; that with all these and other infinite blessings, such a region should have remained almost unknown and unnoticed by the rest of the civilized world—Will this be attributed to the inscrutable dispositions of the Creator of the Universe, or to the tyranny of Kings and Priests?

The struggles for civil freedom which the unfortunate inhabitants of South America and Mexico have been making for these few years past have not been attended with that success which a cause so sacred was supposed to have ensured and inspired.

The Creoles, that is, the descendants of European Spaniards, are in general gifted with great natural endowments—they are acute, high spirited, and enthusiasts for liberty.—These are the characteristics of the higher and middling class of society—the lower order are in general wretchedly ignorant and under the domination of Priestcraft; still, however, they are more susceptible of the blessings of rational freedom than has been usually supposed, because although they have hitherto been the victims of oppression and superstition, they are not by nature or habit, of vicious inclinations, and there is not perhaps on earth a population that could be more easily led and governed.

We are acquainted with the revolutionary spirit pervading the great empire of Mexico, and we have recently heard that even the *City of Mexico* had joined the standard of the Independents. We have, as yet, no official account of this important fact, but it derives credit from the ferment and dissatisfaction that I know prevails in that capital, in consequence of the conduct of Ferdinand the 7th and his Counsellors.

The Viceroy of Mexico, as well as all the important offices, civil, military and ecclesiastic, were under the controul of the Crown—nearly the whole of those recently in office, were nominated by *the Cortes*, but since the dissolution of that body, they *have been daily anticipating the loss of their places*. Many of these men, although they are European Spaniards, view the conduct of Ferdinand as treacherous and ungrateful to the nation, and as they expect in future only persecution, it is highly probable some of them find a more flattering field for their ambition, by uniting their interest and throwing their weight in favor of the revolutionists—I am therefore of opinion that whether or not the City of Mexico has yet declared its independence, there exists in that capital a strong disposition to this effect, which will be manifested the first favorable opportunity—be that as it may, it will be hereafter seen that the United States possess the means, and have it in their power to accelerate the emancipation, indeed, to decide the fate of Mexico, and to promote and establish civil liberty throughout the Western hemisphere.

The annals of history furnish no parallel undertaking; nor had the cabinet of any country ever presented for its consideration a subject of such magnitude, or so eminently calculated to perpetuate the honor and glory of that administration which shall direct their talents and the energies of their country towards effecting the deliverance of an immense population who, for the last three centuries have been shrouded in misery, and groaning under the most oppressive despotism that ever afflicted any portion of the human race.

If assisting in the emancipation from tyranny of seventeen millions of our fellow species constitute an object of glory and interest to the United States, the importance of that object is further augmented, provided it can

be demonstrated that while we are aiding the progression of civil liberty over those countries, we are at the same time striking Great Britain, our present open and bitter enemy, a more deep and vital blow than it is possible for us to inflict by any other means.

It must be obvious to every impartial observer, that the primary object of the British government is to arrest (if she cannot destroy) the political and commercial progression of the United States—her cabinet has already discovered that our indefinite and intrinsic resources, and the genius of our people and government have unfolded the embryo of a future power, hostile to the splendor and permanence of the British empire—it is the anticipation of our future importance in the scale of nations that fills the British cabinet with jealousy and indignation.—These are the causes to which must be attributed her anxiety to strengthen her Canadian border—to prohibit our future influence and strength on the Lakes—to come forth as the ally and champion of the Savages—to encroach on our territorial sovereignty, and finally by her attempt to seize on Louisiana (whether for herself or Spain is immaterial) she demonstrates the extent of her ambitious and daring projects.

The conquest of Louisiana, or rather the possession of New Orleans, and the adjoining territory, although a difficult task, will be undertaken by Great Britain, and *may succeed*. I know it will be said that the possession of the mouth of the Mississippi and the territory of Orleans cannot long be maintained, nor is it of any use to any European power, without the acquiescence and support of the great population that inhabit the Western and Northern sections of our union; and it may be added, by those who have a knowledge of the habits and character of that population, that their acquiescence and support is as impossible as unnatural, and I likewise

hope that any attempt of the enemy to obstruct or impede this great debouchee which God and nature has given us, will excite universal indignation among our Western brethren, and that they will view it as an impious violation of their sovereignty, and as attacking the threshold of every thing most sacred to them. Notwithstanding these just expectations, it becomes the duty of the statesman to look at *possible results*, and to adopt measures in due season to guard against evil consequences.

The force that Great Britain has been collecting and organizing for more than *eight months* past, for an attack on Louisiana, will I apprehend be found *much greater than has been generally known, and perhaps nothing more strongly demonstrates the hypocrisy of her diplomatic proceedings than the artful manner she has been amusing us with her "Sine qua nons" and professions of sincerity for peace unconnected with territorial acquisitions, while at the same time she was secretly and assiduously maturing an expedition that had for its object not only the dismemberment of an immense portion of our country, but to strike at the allegiance and palsy the industry of near two millions of our population.*

The force that left the Chesapeake a few months since, the expedition that sailed from England in September, the garrisons of nearly all the British West Indies, *with every black regiment in their service*, has been united for this grand expedition. What have we to oppose to this formidable force? A gallant little army under the brave General Jackson, and a few thousand undisciplined troops from the West. Our *chance* of success depends on the arrival of General Jackson at New Orleans before the enemy make the attack, but if we are frustrated in this important point to whom is it to be attributed? To the *conduct of the Governor of Pensacola* most certainly, because had he not permitted the British to use Pensacola for *hostile purposes, to clothe the Indians*

and to furnish them with munitions of war, whereby they might attack our defenceless citizens in the vicinage—had it not been for these and other operations of our enemy within the Spanish jurisdiction, General Jackson and his brave associates might and would have been at the important post of *Orleans many months since*. I mention these facts to impress on the reader, the conviction of the writer, that the Governor of Pensacola, who is under the immediate controul of the Captain General of Cuba, would not have undertaken so serious a responsibility, as is involved in this breach of neutrality, at so critical a juncture, without *express orders from the Spanish cabinet*—and whether Ferdinand and his Counsellors should in future disavow the act or not, the injury is done and the deed may be irreparable, so far as respects the immediate and disastrous consequences that may ensue.* Admitting General Jackson with his army reaches New Orleans before the enemy ascend the river, we may then anticipate a gallant and perhaps successful defence—but when I reflect on the immense force employed on this expedition, and a variety of circumstances connected therewith, I think it very possible they may succeed in getting possession of Orleans—at all events it may not be amiss to examine the conduct they are likely to pursue, in case they succeed.

Among the first objects of the enemy after they obtain possession, will be an attempt to weaken the patriotism of our Citizens by every possible lure—Great Britain will offer our countrymen the unrestricted commerce of the Mississippi, and perhaps an exclusive trade

* Since these observations were in the press intelligence has been received of the arrival of Gen. Jackson at Orleans, and likewise of his having been strongly reinforced from the West. This information does not remove the fears of the writer as to the issue—every day seems to confirm his apprehensions of the magnitude of the force our enemy have collected for this expedition.

to her West Indies—Gold and silver will be tendered for the fruits of our soil, and the fabricks of England will be offered in barter on the most favorable terms—she will perhaps offer to unite the destinies of our Western population to the British empire, and she will endeavor to convince them that under her protection, their lands and products would be of far greater value, than under the government of the United States.

That these offers and temptations will be resisted with scorn by the people of the West is more than probable, but with the lesson before our eyes of the conduct of our citizens in the Eastern sections of our union, with the fatal evidences of party spirit which have already disgraced our country, and with a conviction that our infant government has not yet acquired due energy, it becomes under these circumstances essential to keep in view the *possibility* of our Western population being allured from their allegiance by the promises and machinations of Great Britain.——

In the event of the latter seizing New Orleans and thereby impeding all communication on the Mississippi between the Atlantic and the Western territory it will at first only excite indignation and surprize among the inhabitants of Louisiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, &c. &c. &c. Before these emotions subside, or the love of a commercial intercourse with Great Britain is awakened by the promises and arts of the latter, I conceive it would be politic, and indeed necessary, to occupy the attention and feelings of our Western citizens, by presenting them an object of far higher importance to their future interests and honor than any thing Great Britain can ever offer them.——

To assist in the emancipation of Mexico from the dominion of Spain, has long been a popular feeling among all *classes* of society in the states before mentioned—so

strong indeed has been that feeling occasionally manifested, that our government could scarcely prevent its embroiling us with Spain—perhaps there never was an enterprise so exactly adapted to the habits and genius of a people, as this undertaking would be to them—numerous and bold, hardy by education, inured by the sports of the forest to all its dangers, and in their element when travelling, these people would accomplish the deliverance of the Mexican empire from the thralldom of Spain with infinitely more promptitude and facility than they settled our country West of the Alleghany mountains.

In place of our citizens being viewed as conquerors or intruders, their entrance into the territory of Mexico would diffuse joy and confidence throughout every part of that important country—the population would be roused from their apathy, we should be hailed as the deliverers of six millions of people from a cruel despotism, and we should instantaneously discover that the influence and power of Spain would vanish as dew before the rays of the sun.

Fifteen to twenty thousand volunteers accompanied by gallant officers, with an equipment such as can be obtained with facility in Kentucky and Tennessee, would decide the fate of all Mexico in less than one year—penetrating the empire by those points that are in possession of the Revolutionists, would not only inspire the latter with new energies but would induce hundreds of thousands to join the republican standard, who have hitherto hesitated, not from inclination but timidity—the great mass of the population could by these means be made literally to roll down on the city of Mexico, taking possession in their rout of all the intermediate places, as well as the mines, thereby speedily determining the fate of the capital of the empire, as well as of the City and port of Vera Cruz—that these great objects can be effected by the means suggested, there does not exist a doubt in the mind of the writer, all that is necessary to legitimate the enterprise,

and to give vigour to its execution, is that our government shall step forth as the *ally and friend of the Independents*; a measure not only justified by the recent outrages we have suffered from Spain, but dictated by sound policy and enforced by the cries of injured humanity—Mexico is allied to us by the laws of nature, and it only remains for us likewise to attach her further by Interest and Gratitude.

Much has been written and said on the mines of South America and Mexico, but it may not be amiss at this period to take a cursory view of this interesting subject. The mines of this new world for more than three centuries, have either been made subservient to the despotism of the Spanish monarchy, or to augment the power and cupidity of Great Britain—they have never yet been instrumental in promoting the felicity and strength of those regions where nature had placed them—hitherto they have been curses instead of blessings to the natives of the soil—this has not arisen (as vulgarly thought) from any evil inherent in these submundane sources of wealth, but has been produced by the barbarous and tyrannic policy of Spain, *by the unskilful manner they were worked*, and by their being used as a monopoly to gratify a few dissipated or avaricious favorites of the crown.

The day perhaps is not far distant when the precious metals of those countries will not be considered as their principal wealth—a liberal government with an increase of population, would soon unfold the indefinite resources of this part of the Globe, and specie and bullion no longer be received as their principal exports.

Thousands of wretches who now find a premature grave by labouring in the bowels of the earth, would find employment and comfort by cultivating its surface, and if the precious metals should in future still be the desired talisman of the inhabitants of the old world, it is no

more than just, that those of the new world should reciprocate in the benefits to be derived from excavating their parent earth and throwing up its treasures to the surface—this may be done with perhaps much greater ease than we are at present aware.

The mines may become in future (as they ought to be) *National property*, consequently their product might be augmented or diminished according to circumstances, proportioned to the value they bear, by metrical estimation throughout the civilized world.

No property on earth can with more ease and certainty be controuled by a Nation than Mines, as it is impossible to work them in private without detection.

The famous mines of *Potosi*, as well as those generally in *Peru*, *Chili*, *New Grenada*, and *Mexico*, have been explored and worked under every disadvantage—their wealth has been extracted by the reluctant labour of wretches, who perished at an early period of life, either by severity of labour, or by disease and despair, excited and produced by this unnatural employment—it is now well ascertained that some of the best mines in the before mentioned places, have been long since abandoned, merely because the excavations got filled with water, which from indolence or want of ingenuity could not be removed—from the best information I could collect on this interesting subject, I think there is no hazard in asserting, that if the mines of those countries were under the immediate controul of wise and energetic government and if modern machinery were introduced in working them through the whole process, there could be more Gold and Silver obtained (and at about one third or half the former expence) from eight or ten of the principal mines than by the present system can be procured from the whole, and what is of further consequence, without the necessity of employing, one hundredth part of the hu-

man beings, that have been annually sacrificed in this ungrateful labour.

I have digressed rather further than I intended on this subject, but to the statesman who extends his views to futurity, and to those who reflect how intimately the destinies of nations are connected with fiscal operations, this digression relative to the mines of South America and Mexico may be of some utility.

That Great Britain has for late years enjoyed all the advantages that could have been derived from the possession of those mines, none will dispute who have attended to the events of the war so lately suspended in Europe—before the dispute between France and Spain, and even yet while the latter was at peace with England, a squadron of British frigates was dispatched to lay in wait for the homeward bound Spanish vessels, made prizes of them before a declaration of hostilities, and brought their cargoes of dollars and ingots to the national vaults of London—since that day until the present moment of partial peace, has England had the sovereign controul of the specie of Spanish America, and on a far better condition than Spain ever enjoyed it—From that day until the invasion of Spain by France, has Great Britain captured almost every vessel that attempted to run the gauntlet with specie to Spain, and in order to get a small portion of their American wealth into the Peninsula of Europe, it has come under the knowledge of the writer, that contracts have been entered into with the British government while at *war with Spain* and permission granted for an English convoy to protect the Spanish treasure, and for which one half was given to England for the safe conveyance of the other—whether this was done through English merchants or by the government, the effect was the same, because the government assented to it—since the collision of France

and Spain, and the co-operation of Lord Wellington with the Cortes, the ore of Spanish America has gone direct to Great Britain, and the mines though ostensibly Spanish, were solely converted to the use of England.

The imbecility, corruption and disgrace of the Courts of Charles and Ferdinand in thus truckling to England, and submitting to the infamy of her convoy on such conditions roused the jealousy, as well as the contempt and vengeance of France.

That Great Britain yet enjoys, and will continue to controul the wealth of Spain as long as Spain is a monarchy there can be but little doubt, and if objected to by their monarchs, or any future Cortes, so long as *Spanish America belongs to the peninsula*, Great Britain can and will command by her naval superiority, the riches and commerce of this vast continent.—*The independence of this new world will alone arrest the ambition and influence of Great Britain.*—This event would give birth to a new and auspicious order of things not only over the Western Hemisphere, but throughout the whole world; but the advantages to the United States would be as instantaneously felt, as they would be solid and permanent.

The commerce and riches of those countries would take a *new direction, particularly from Mexico*, and may be made to circulate through the United States, in place of contributing as they have hitherto done to *furnish the principal sinew of war to Great Britain*, or to swell the pomp and nourish the despotism of Spain.

That Great Britain will endeavour to prevent the United States from establishing a political and commercial influence with these people is perfectly natural, but that she cannot prevent us from obtaining t^his influence, appears to me certain, provided we do not *delay too long*,

the adoption of the measures before and hereafter suggested—it is most completely in our power to make *the whole population of the Mexican empire our friends and allies*, and this desideratum being accomplished, would decide the fate of the rest of Spanish America.

It has fell under the knowledge of the writer not only from general observation, but from various documents he has perused, to ascertain that England has long been desirous of wresting South America and Spain from the Spanish monarchy.

The political state of Europe alone has, or still retards the open avowal of that determination, but fortunately for mankind, and the inhabitants of the new world in particular, she has in the mean time by her sinister and unwarrantable conduct made herself innumerable and eternal enemies, in the place of friends, over the whole of this vast continent.

While acting as the ally of Spain, and bound by a solemn treaty to guarantee the integrity of the Spanish monarchy, she was not secretly but openly encouraging its dismemberment.

To every part of the Spanish dominions in a state of revolt against the mother country she was pursuing an extensive traffic, protected by her navy—In vain did the Spanish cabinet remonstrate, in vain did they declare the revolted ports in a state of blockade. The remonstrances were treated with contempt, and the sovereignty of Spain over her dominions was considered as ridiculous when it interfered with British cupidity—While this conduct was justly exciting the indignation and jealousy of Spain, it produced neither cordiality or respect among the Revolutionists of South America. In vain did the latter implore the protection or interference of Great Britain to stop the ravages of civil discord—she beheld

with apathy the horrid scenes of butchery between the Royalists and Revolutionists on this continent, coldly calculating that the period would shortly arrive when she would be solicited to *aid* the one, or *subdue the other party*, and in either case she presumed it would enable her eventually to plant her political and commercial sovereignty over these regions, but in this calculation I trust she will be egregiously deceived, as will hereafter be seen; but before we treat further on this subject, let us take a cursory view of the present political condition and resources of the countries now contending for their emancipation from Spain.

The important section of South America, called Buenos Ayres, has advanced with more regularity and firmness towards their independence than any other part of the continent.—They have a large army well organized and equipped—they possess immense intrinsic resources—their government extends to the mountains and centre of Chili, and excites fear and commotion even to the capital of the empire of Peru.—The recent capitulation of *Monte Video*, the Great Gibraltar of the river La Plata, gives to Buenos Ayres an importance and strength that the Spanish monarchy will never be able to shake, and no doubt exists in my mind that all Chili will be speedily united to the government of Buenos Ayres.—England possesses no influence here—Among this people a sentiment of disgust and indignation is permanently fixed by the remembrance of those plans of aggrandisement which Great Britain unfolded in the famous (or rather infamous) expedition against this country during the administration of William Pitt.—Every citizen of the United States who has visited Buenos Ayres feels gratified with the lively sentiment expressed in favor of our country by all classes of society, and indulges in the hope that we will speedily be united by the closest ties as well political as commercial.

The important and beautiful province of Venezuela, has made several attempts to shake off the Spanish yoke, but they have been rendered abortive from various causes.

An awful visitation of nature (an earthquake) which laid in desolation many of the best cities in the country, and destroyed many thousands of the population, was considered by the ignorant and superstitious multitude as a proof of divine vengeance. This melancholy occurrence united to the ambition and imbecility of Gen. Miranda, were the chief causes of destroying the first efforts of the people of Venezuela towards independence.—The conduct of Miranda is still wrapped in mystery. While at the head of government in that country his actions and principles appear at direct variance with all his previous professions, and political views—his capitulation with the Royalists under the Spanish General Domingo Montoverde exhibits a degree of baseness and pusillanimity without any parallel on record. After he had by this act surrendered his country's honor and independence, and delivered thousands of his compatriots to the mercy of an exasperated and cruel foe, he attempted to save himself by flight—he did not succeed—*two of his own officers*, indignant at his cowardly and treacherous conduct arrested him at La Guyra just as he was attempting to embark on board a British sloop of war, then at anchor in the port—he was thrown into a dungeon and loaded with chains by order of the Spanish Chief Montoverde—After many months confinement in the dungeons of La Guyra, Porto Cavello and Porto Rico, he was carried to Spain in irons, and whatever may be his fate, there is not an individual in all Venezuela (although the country of Miranda's birth) that feels for him a sentiment of commiseration.

During the few months that Montoverde possessed power, he filled all Venezuela with horror and indignation at his cruelties—hundreds of the most distinguished natives who had held offices under Miranda were thrown into humid and confined vaults under the fortifications of La Guyra and Porto Cavello, where they speedily expired by disease or suffocation—many were sent in chains to Spain, and are still lingering out a miserable existence at Ceuta—others have been publicly and secretly put to death, while many have been mutilated by having their ears and nose cut off. It is said that Montoverde never authorised this last act of barbarous revenge, but be that as it may, it was executed by his satellites, and the unfortunate victims are still to be seen throughout the province of Carracas, exhibiting an awful evidence to their countrymen of Spanish perfidy and cruelty. Scenes of this nature made the inhabitants ripe for another revolution, but as they were totally destitute of arms or ammunition they were compelled to remain passive for some time, but in the course of last year a gallant youth called Simon Bolivar, a native of Carracas, found support from New Grenada, and with a few followers (about twelve hundred) penetrated the frontiers of Venezuela, defeated the Royalists in every action, and in a few weeks reached the city of Carracas, compelling Montoverde to fly for refuge to Porto Cavello.—The standard of liberty was once more planted throughout the greater part of the province in August and September, 1813.

Bolivar found himself at the head of an enthusiastic population destitute of all the essential munitions of war. The writer well knows he had not sufficient *musquets* or *powder* to properly equip *four thousand men*—every exertion was made by Bolivar to remedy this deficiency, but he could not procure supplies in due season. In the

mean time Montoverde received supplies of warlike stores and troops from Spain—the European Spaniards, to the number of *two thousand*, who had fled to Curacoa on the approach of Bolivar to Carracas, were likewise assiduously engaged in sending succors to Montoverde at Porto Cavello—by these means the Royalists daily increased in strength, and although Bolivar maintained himself gallantly, and in several desperate conflicts evinced the spirit and perseverance of his countrymen, yet as each battle diminished his scanty store of ammunition, it became obvious that he must soon give up the unequal struggle. Three or four thousand musquets, and a proportionate supply of powder, would have enabled Bolivar to have drove Montoverde and every European Spaniard from the country in a few months—but even under all these disadvantages I have my doubts if he would have been overcome, had not the Spaniards adopted the dreadful expedient of *proclaiming freedom* to the slaves and exciting them to destroy the Creole proprietors. This unexpected measure left Bolivar and his associates no alternative but to submit to the enemy or abandon the country—they of course determined on the latter, having on a former occasion tested the fallacy of Spanish faith, it was not likely they would again be allured by offers of amnesty—Accordingly, a few months since, nearly the whole of the white Creole of Carracas and La Guyra, including men, women and children, were compelled to fly from their native Country, and seek a refuge in the different Islands in the West Indies.

The banners of Ferdinand the 7th therefore once more wave over the unfortunate province of Venezuela, but it is a gloomy triumph for the European Spaniards—they must continue to hold a wretched and trembling existence among a population of Indians, mulattoes and ne-

groes, who will seize the first favorable occasion to throw off this unnatural yoke—besides which it is impossible for Venezuela to remain long under the authority of Spain, while the adjoining empire of New Grenada enjoys independence.

The states composing New Grenada, include what have been usually called the *Vice Royalty of Santafee*—this great section of South America contains above four millions of souls—it stretches from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, and through its centre runs the great river Magdalena, whose sources are near the same mountains from whence the waters of the Oronoque have their origin—these two rivers will no doubt at some future period, be as conspicuous in the history of this new and unnoticed world as the Thames or Nile have been in Egypt or England. Having mentioned these rivers it may interest some of my readers (although not essential to the main point I have in view) to state some facts scarcely mentioned by Geographers, and indeed only permitted to be made public within a few years past.

The Spanish government never allowed foreigners, either for commercial or any other purposes, to ascend the Oronoque higher than the *City of Angustura*—Humbolt was the first traveller that visited the waters which empty into this great river—Spain in this instance departed from the policy she had rigorously pursued for ages, by granting her protection and permission to visit every part of South America and Mexico—he had access to the archives which had been always closed from the eyes not only of foreigners, but even the natives of the country were prohibited from inspecting them.—This distinguished traveller appears by his writings (so far as they have been yet published) to have directed his pursuits to the study of nature, to scientific observa-

tion, and to fixing the latitude and longitude of certain spots, than to have examined a beautiful and luxuriant country with a political and commercial eye. It was not until the years 1810 and 11, during the period Carracas enjoyed a short lived independence, that a distinguished patriot named Madriaga Cortes, a Canon of Chili, undertook to explore an *interior navigation* from the *extremities of Venezuela* to within a few leagues of the City of *Santa Fe de Bogota* the *capital of New Grenada*.—Attended only by a few followers he departed from the City of Santa Fe to the head waters of a *river called Meta*—this river was as unknown to Geographers as to fame—a few jesuits who had fled there from persecution, and some missionaries, were the only white inhabitants that had ever visited or been permitted to settle on this river—the Canon of Chili and his gallant little band, in boats of their own construction, carelessly commenced their descent—they visited various hordes of Savages established on the banks or within a few miles of the river, and were treated with hospitality by all of them in consequence of the Canon bearing in his hand the standard of liberty and declaring himself at hostility with the Spaniards—in no other way could he have passed in safety, because many of these tribes were at eternal war with the Spaniards, and would have sacrificed the whole of these adventurers had it not been for the good management and address of the Canon —After a navigation of fourteen days through a most beautiful and fertile country, and in a stream *generally a mile in breadth, and from five to six fathom in depth*, a placid current without a single fall or shoal to interrupt their course for more than 800 miles, they reached the *rivers of Great and Little A Pure*, the one meandering thro' the heart of Venezuela, and the other descending to the river Oronoque, thereby proving a great and facile communication by water, from where the *Oronoque empties into the Atlantic in*

the gulph of Paria, to the very centre of New Grenada, and within a few miles of Santa Fe, a distance of more than sixteen hundred miles.

The fate of the Canon of Chili is deplored throughout every part of South America. Neither the splendor of his talents or his private virtues could shield him from the rage of Montoverde—the latter ordered him to be immured, for many months, in the dungeons of Porto Cavello, and from thence to be sent in chains to Spain—the last accounts left him *dragging his fetters on the fortifications of Ceuta.*

Next to the river Oronoque, ranks the Magdalena—it flows through the most populous states of New Grenada, and is navigable for *vessels of the largest size above three hundred miles*, and for *boats of 100 tons, upwards of eight hundred miles*; its principle debouchee is in the bay of Samanilla, between the cities of Santa Martha and Carthagena; it is connected with the latter by a canal, from the bars and obstructions at the different mouths of this noble river, nature appears to have prohibited the entrance of large vessels from the Atlantic, but she has in her bounty, provided innumerable safe and convenient bays, where ships of any size, may anchor in perfect security; a land carriage of only three miles, or a canal with proper locks will in future convey the commerce of the greater part of New Grenada to and from the Atlantic, from the mouth of this noble river (after passing the bar) for more than *four hundred miles*, its depth is not less than 20, and generally 60 fathom, no shoals or falls to interrupt the navigation; the trade winds blow nearly all the year directly up the river, as far, or even beyond a city called Mompos, consequently there is nothing to prevent vessels of any tonnage navigating on this river, at least so far as the last mentioned city; the present vessels or

huge machines used on this river, betray the same want of skill or knowledge of the arts, as may be expected in a country, where every thing had been done by the old government, to perpetuate ignorance and repress genius. This river is better adapted for *steam boats* than perhaps any other in the world, not only from its being freer of obstructions, but on the one or other side is always to be found a placid stream; the same remarks apply to the Oronoque, and many of its tributary streams, an inexhaustible supply of fuel is to be obtained on the banks of both of those rivers—*ship timber* the *largest* and *best* in the world is here to be found abundant. Vast forests of *Cedar* and *Mahogany* are to be found on the banks of, and adjacent to these waters; it is not uncommon to see boats of 60 *feet* in length, and *eight* in *diameter*, hewn out of a single *Cedar-tree*; *Ebony*, *Sattin-wood*, *Gatada*, *purple wood*, together with almost every species of wood that are deemed rare and valuable, are produced in those countries, and at certain seasons of the year, immense rafts of these woods may be floated down the Oronoque to the Gulph of Paria, and from thence to Europe, or to the United States, conveyed in vessels of any burthen—it is in these countries likewise, that are to be found, all the precious Gums and Balsams, so highly prized throughout the rest of the world; the most beautiful skins of South America are to be obtained in these forests, and will no doubt constitute an important branch of future commerce to these countries.

In no part of the earth does nature exhibit more fertility or beauty than on both banks of the river Magdalena, and although it flows under a vertical sun, it is in point of salubrity far superior to the more northern latitudes within the Tropic.

The mountains of Santa Martha (a great branch of the Andes) elevated more than *twelve thousand feet* above

the ocean, rise in lofty grandeur, or the east bank of this river, and from their summits covered with eternal snow, is diffused a vivifying freshness over all the country below yielding a perpetual and active vegetation that has perhaps no parallel on earth, and the innumerable flocks of cattle, feeding in their verdant and inexhaustible meadows, on both sides of the river, suggests to the passing beholder, the resources of the country for an indefinite human population. After ascending the river above Mompos, the country on each side becomes mountainous, with a climate superior to the spring of Europe; here are produced the fruits and grain of every zone, at a place called *Ocana*, on the left bank of the river, *wheat* and *barley* grow in abundance, of the former a large quantity is already sent for consumption to Carthagená—these circumstances have been suggested to show the natural blessings these countries possess, and the importance they may occupy in the civilized world when their resources are called into action, and my object in treating on those superiorities which heaven has in its bounty conferred on this point of the world, was to illustrate *its present desolate majesty*, and to show that *its inherent treasures* are neglected and humbled at the feet of a base and abandoned aristocracy.

West of Carthagená is the city of Porto Bello, and the celebrated Isthmus of Darien—this part of New Grenada is still in possession of the Royalists. Since the revolution of Spain in 1808, an immense and growing commerce has been carried on from Jamaica to Porto Bello, and Panama—the latter is situated on the Pacific Ocean, and at the narrowest part of the Isthmus—there is no situation on the Globe, that appears to have been more particularly designed by nature for a great emporium of commerce *than Panama*.—Not only will it, at some future period be the great channel of intercourse between Eu-

rope, the United States and the Eastern world, but it must ere long be the route of commerce as well for the shores of the Pacific, as of the Islands that are scattered over that immense Ocean.

By this channel is obviated the perilous and tedious voyage round Cape Horn, and if, when the project is carried into effect, of cutting a canal through the Isthmus of Darien, we shall find not only a great change, but a very important enlargement in the commercial operations of the whole civilized world.

Nearly all the writers who have treated on this subject, have admitted its practicability, and acknowledged its importance, but they have attached to the undertaking a variety of obstacles which had no other existence but in their imagination, or had been promulgated by Spanish historians, perhaps for the purpose of concealing the truth.

Some have stated that the Pacific was much more elevated than the Atlantic on the opposite side of the Isthmus, and that any attempt to unite those Oceans by a Canal, would expose the adjacent country to inundation, and by thus violating the laws of nature, dreadful results might follow.

Without treating these opinions as entirely chimerical, it is only necessary to remark that the introduction of water from the Ocean by proper Canals with good locks, is now known, can be effected with ease and security, indeed much more so, than those constructed for the connection of rivers, where it becomes necessary frequently to provide against casual inundations. If on the coast of Holland, amidst a boisterous sea, agitated by constant tempests, it has not been found difficult to repel the en-

encroachment of the Ocean, by common dykes, much less need any risque be apprehended in the Bay of Panama, where the Pacific Ocean (as its name imports) is scarcely ever disturbed by a storm, nor has ever been known to make an inroad of ten yards from its usual margin.

Other writers have stated that from the mountainous nature of the Isthmus, and its impenetrable strata, it was impossible to cut a canal, without the labour of millions, and at an expence and waste of time that would not be compensated by any future benefits.

These, and a variety of other objections were never disputed by the Spanish government, it being their established policy to conceal from the rest of the world, every important circumstance that had a tendency to draw the attention of other nations towards South America—recent events have burst this selfish and unnatural veil, and truths are now daily developed, relating to this great country of the highest importance, not only to its inhabitants, but to all mankind.

It is now known, that a canal may be cut through this Isthmus, over a *space less than twenty miles*, that will *connect the two Oceans*. The route alluded to, passes through the ravines of the mountains, presenting but few or scarce any obstacles to cutting a canal of any *breadth or depth*, that may be deemed necessary—this fact has been known to the Spanish government, for *more than fifty years past*, but the secret has been carefully locked up in the archives at Madrid.

There are several individuals now in New Grenada, perfectly acquainted with the ground, and who are of opinion that so far from its being a difficult task, it might be accomplished with facility, and in a *few years*, a few hundred good artisans, with modern implements and machinery would be the only foreign aid required.

The Indians of the Isthmus, as well as those of the adjacent country have hitherto been deprived of every stimulus to industry, they have dragged out a wretched existence in the same way, as the natives over all South America—their labours have been solely devoted to glut the avarice of a few European Spaniards, to feed the insatiable dependents of the Crown, or to pamper the drones of the Church—it is therefore, scarcely necessary to say, that these unfortunate people hail with joy and gratitude, the prospect of being delivered from their oppressive shackles, and will faithfully adhere to any new form of government that calls their industry into action, and remunerates their labours; and perhaps there is no circumstance that would produce such a powerful and good effect, as employing and regularly paying a large body of these Indians.

Twenty to thirty thousand of these people, under the direction of proper artisans, with the aid before mentioned, would in my opinion accomplish the great undertaking already suggested in *less than ten years*. Whether it is eventually performed under national auspices, or by the enterprize and capital of individuals is immaterial; it will rank among the most lucrative, as well as beneficial projects ever executed by human operations.

No nation on earth is more deeply interested in the success of such a scheme, than the United States, consequently we ought to rejoice in any political events that have a tendency to place the inhabitants of that part of South America, in a condition to accelerate and realise this great desideratum. Having thus cursorily touched on some of the natural advantages of New Grenada, it may be necessary to state its present political situation.

The principal states of this empire, are *Popayan*, *Santa Fee*, *Antioqui*, *Mompas*, and *Carthagena*—each had

their separate" governors and legislatures—they formed a federal compact, and vested the supreme power over all the states in a general congress—they declared themselves independent of Spain, abolished the inquisition, and many other odious features of the old government.

The individual who may be considered as the leading character in this infant empire, is *Antonio Narrino*, a native of *Santa Fee*, a man of extraordinary talents and enterprise—prior to the revolution he was feared and suspected by the Spanish government, and in consequence of being thus suspected, he had been confined for many years in the dungeons of *Carthagená*—it is fortunate for his country he survived a cruel persecution, because he was a Creole of high birth, which gave him extensive influence besides that which his talents procured him, and the remembrance of the wrongs he has suffered, has given an energy to his conduct and character, that renders him the most distinguished, as well as most influential individual in this empire.

To possess Panama and all the Isthmus of Darien, has been a favourite object of *Narrino's*, but he has been so constantly engaged in protecting *Popayan* from the incursions of the *Royalists from Quito*, that as yet he has not had the means of executing his wishes.

The government of *Carthagená* have likewise been anxiously preparing to embrace the first favorable occasion to execute the same object, and I presume it will not be many months before we hear of Panama being in possession of the independents.

Whenever the *Royalists* shall lose Panama, the fate of the rest of South America, would be speedily decided—the whole of the shores of the Pacific from *Chili* and *Lima* to *Acapulco*, have for the last few years, viewed Pa-

nama as the great Mart of their commerce, as well as the key of their intercourse with Jamaica and Europe, and whatever might have been the dispositions of the people in general, they felt some hesitation in declaring openly against Spain, whilst the latter held this imposing position, and the command of the Isthmus. Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, the flame of freedom has occasionally burst forth in all the principal cities of those provinces. The ancient capital of the Peruvian empire, (Cuzco) and the great city of Quito have alternately been in possession of the Independents and Royalists. Throughout all the interior of this vast continent, hatred of Spain is the general feeling, and indeed, from Patagonia to California, this feeling is fast spreading.

Should the Revolutionists get hold of Panama, they will no doubt direct their utmost exertions to make it in future impregnable, in which case they will be enabled to suspend the commerce that Great Britain has been in the habit of enjoying, or at least to prescribe conditions conformable to the future political views and interests of South America.

In order to illustrate the commercial influence England has obtained in those regions, and the manner she is seeking to extend it, I shall relate a few facts that came under my own observation.

For several years past, it has been usual for a *British sloop of war or frigate*, to depart from Kingston, Jamaica, every six or eight weeks, with eight to twelve Spanish merchant vessels under her convoy, laden with British merchandise, and of which four-fifths belonging to British merchants residing at Kingston. The convoy conducts these vessels to Porto Bello, and the River Chagris—at the latter place, it is usual for the British vessels of war to wait a few days, until her freight of specie is brought over the Isth-

mus from Panama. She then proceeds with this money either direct to Jamaica, or beats up the coast to Carthagena, where she takes in more specie, as well as ingots of gold and silver.

It frequently happens that the precious metals are accompanied by the proprietors, who take their passage on board the British vessel of war, hence we see *Royalists and Revolutionists at the same time under the protection of the British flag.* This, however, is not new in the history of British policy—she has long been in the habit of forcing her commerce, both in war and peace, as well with her enemies as her friends—no matter how irreconcilable such commerce might be to the *laws of nations*, or contrary to the *rights and interests* of even those powers with whom she was in strict alliance—all these were difficulties of minor importance, when they interfered with her commercial interests—this latitude, Great Britain has always taken, but never allowed to other nations.

It may not be amiss to notice here, what has been the conduct of the British government towards the new republic of Carthagena. In the years 1812 and 13, the merchants of Jamaica became alarmed for the safety of their commerce with Porto Bello and Panama, in consequence of being informed that a number of French privateersmen, who had emigrated from Cuba and New-Orleans, to Carthagena, were fitting out privateers at the latter place, under the flag of Carthagena.

Petitions were presented to the Admiral and Governor of Jamaica, by nearly all the merchants of Kingston, particularly by those engaged in trade with the Spanish Royalists, praying that immediate measures might be adopted, to prevent the government of Carthagena from

granting commissions to adventurers, who were represented in these petitions to be either the enemies of Great Britain, or Pirates. The interference of the Admiral and Governor was exercised, but in a very cautious manner, and did not however, produce any effect on the government of Carthagená.

Remonstrances were afterwards sent to England, not only by the merchants of Jamaica, but *those of Cadiz*, backed by the entreaties of the *Cortes and Regency*, to consider the flag of this new republic as *the banner of Piracy*, and *must not, or ought not to be treated in any other light by Great Britain, as the ally of Spain.*

Contrary to the expectations of the British merchants, and to the mortification and surprise of the Spaniards, the British cabinet resolved not to interfere on this question, and expressly ordered their *Admirals and naval commanders not to molest, but on the contrary, protect the flag and commerce of these new governments.*

The same policy has been pursued by England, in her commerce with Buenos Ayres, where she has been in the constant habit of despising the decrees of blockade, and other measures of the Spanish government at *Monte Video*, until finally this important fortress has been compelled to capitulate to the government of Buenos Ayres, an event which, as has been before observed, decides the fate of all that important section of South America.

If Great Britain, while pursuing this policy which has been gradually, but certainly undermining the sovereignty of Spain over these countries, had openly stepped forward as the friend of the Revolutionists, she would by this time have acquired an ascendancy over their counsels and affections that would have led to an easy and permanent controul over the whole of this new world,

but such has been her insidious conduct, and her apathy at those scenes of horror, which have arose from the struggles between the Royalists and Revolutionists, that the latter view her if possible with more jealousy and contempt than the former.

'The commerce that England has been, and is now enjoying with those countries, is of far greater importance than has been generally known. The peculiar situation of Europe and the United States, has given to England for some time past, an entire monopoly of this valuable trade. The amount of British fabrics that has been shipped from London and Jamaica, through the Isthmus of Darien, to every part of the Pacific Ocean, and the consumption of British merchandise at Buenos Ayres, New Grenada, Venezuela, the Bay of Campeachy, and Mexico, may be computed at least to be *twenty millions of dollars per annum*—the returns of these exports with considerable augmentation of profit, are made generally in *specie* and *bullion*, and other valuable commodities. It is not to be expected that the British cabinet will be impeded by any sense of morality and justice towards the tottering monarchy of Spain, from securing to England, the permanent enjoyment of these great commercial advantages, which she has thus recently tasted and felt—she will use all her energies and machinations to accomplish so grand a desideratum, no matter whether she effects it by quarrelling with Spain, or by espousing the cause of the revolutionists—to her it is immaterial, so long as she secures her object—how far the United States can frustrate this new scheme of commercial aggrandisement, or the means we possess to secure to our country, a participation in this commerce, must be the subject of future examination, because it would be improper as well as impolitic at the present moment to unfold to our enemy, our views and means on this head,

but as respects the adjoining empire of Mexico, we can run no risque from the developement of our plans—here Great Britain cannot impede our progress, although she might attempt so to do, by disembarking a powerful army at Vera Cruz, and openly espouse the cause of Spain against the Revolutionists—we have as before remarked the whole population of the Mexican empire, waiting only to be called into action by the means that I have before stated, and I repeat that if our government will only make the undertaking *legitimate* by their sanction, our Western citizens will *furnish volunteers in abundance for the enterprize, without impairing our present system of defensive operations against the enemy, and without any material cost to the nation.*

An alliance with the empire of Mexico, would attach to our country, the affections of six millions of people, and form the basis of our future alliance with other parts of this new world—we may speedily become the great bankers of Mexico, and likewise of South America. The national vaults of the United States, and our private coffers, may ere long be considered equally secure places of deposit as the vaults of London and Cadiz have hitherto been for the specie and bullion of the new world.

Some of our political moralists may say that whatever may be the advantages to be derived from our assisting in the emancipation of Mexico, and notwithstanding we might form treaties of commerce with Buenos Ayres, New Grenada, and other independent governments of South America, which would give to our country immense benefits, still we must forego these and other important results in favor of our country, rather than break our present political relations with Spain. This

doctrine would have its proper force, if *Spain had not broken asunder her political relation with us*, and become the tool of our common enemy—after she has permitted her neutrality to be violated for the purpose of dealing against us a mortal blow, shall we passively wait until she gives us further and more serious evidence of her hostility? *Shall we wait until Spain redlises the threats and projects held out in the proclamation of Edward Nicoll?* If such shall be our determination, I am of opinion we shall not wait long before we see the developement of her views—we shall probably see in a few days another proclamation by the commanding officer of the expedition now on its way against Louisiana, and if I err not in my calculations, we shall find again renewed all that Nicoll has officially declared to the world—we shall find that not only Pensacola, *but the port of Havana will this winter afford protection and succour to the British fleets*, employed on this famous expedition, and I think we shall further find evidences of co-operation on the part of Spain, of a more decided character than any thing already suggested or known—be that as it may, I am of opinion that the period has arrived that we ought to adopt every measure in our power, to be beforehand with Great Britain in securing the friendship and promoting the emancipation of this new world, for although she possesses no influence at present (for the reasons I have suggested) among the enlightened Creoles of any part of South America or Mexico, yet we do not know what moment she may *begin to create an influence in her favor, by adopting a new course of policy*. We ought to reflect likewise upon the consequences that would follow, if Great Britain from ambitious and political views, should conceive it *her interest to abandon the wretched Ferdinand to his fate*, and declaring war against Spain, offer freedom and protection to the Revolutionists of South America and Mexico, *provided certain provinces should be ceded to her as a compensation*—in such case, is it

not likely she would attempt to bind the natives of those regions to her by treaties of *alliance offensive and defensive*?

Supposing we should continue in the same apathy we have so long observed towards the struggles of the Revolutionists in Mexico, and that Great Britain should become their supporter and defender, how deeply in such case, should we hereafter deplore that we have lost and are losing the precious moments now in our power to prevent so great a political catastrophe to our country's honor and interest.

If the sceptre and influence of Great Britain should ever be fixed in the Mexican empire, then indeed should we experience the baneful consequences of having neglected a moment to seize on the means we at present possess to frustrate so momentous an evil—then indeed might she threaten *serious obstructions to our freedom of navigating the river Mississippi*, and then indeed would she become a powerful and dreaded foe.

To controul the destinies of South America and Mexico, has long been a favorite idea of many distinguished statesmen of Great Britain, and by none was this project more particularly cherished than by William Pitt—his successors *have never lost sight of this magnificent scheme*, they have been only waiting until a due combination of events would enable them to execute these designs.

We have seen their recent attempt to act as mediators between Spain and her revolted colonies—for this purpose Great Britain nominated Admiral Cockburn (who has since made his chivalric incursion on our capitol,) one of the commissioners together with Mr. Morier and Mr. Stuart—before this farce went into full operation, the Spanish government discovered the insidious views of the British cabinet, more especially as related to Mexico,

and just as the Admiral was preparing to leave Cadiz on this mission, he was informed by the Regency, that the mediators might visit every part of Spanish America *except Mexico*—this induced the Admiral to abandon the *conciliatory scheme*, and he left Cadiz, for England in disgust and mortification—since that period, we have heard nothing further of *British mediation*.

If we turn our attention to the British *periodical publications*, and to their *principal reviews*, we shall find they have for many years past forcibly inculcated the necessity and policy of severing South America and Mexico from Spain—they have unfolded in glowing language and in arguments incontrovertible, the right of the oppressed natives of those countries to emancipation from Spanish tyranny, and they have depicted in animated colours, the blessings that will flow to mankind when those regions shall be blessed with liberal and independent governments—these sentiments are now as popular in Great Britain, as hatred and disgust towards Spain is a general feeling.

Great Britain is now at peace with all Europe ; but is there a man who has studied her past history, or acquainted with her present condition, that supposes she will long remain in tranquility ?

To support her present colossal attitude in the European world, she must keep up an immense military and naval force—whenever she relaxes in either, she commences her decline in the scale of empires—commerce and manufactures may have made her rich, but never could have made her a great nation.

War has become essential to sustain her political grandeur, and perhaps necessary to her national existence—of that fact, her statesmen are well aware, and are no doubt preparing for some new contest, the moment that

they can get rid of the one they are at present engaged in with the United States.

That portion of our countrymen who are sighing for peace, and who have so long been filling the air with their lamentations, may rest perfectly satisfied that England will soon gratify their desires. However gigantic were her projects some few months since against our country, she has already discovered, or will ere long find out their fallacy—even admitting her expedition against New Orleans succeeds. I apprehend she will soon get tired of retaining it—disease and death will speedily diminish the numbers of her army, and deprived of intercourse with our Western population, her forces will soon become embarrassed for subsistence—these with other causes will make Great Britain as anxious to abandon, as she has been desirous of effecting this quixotic conquest.

England has likewise discovered that assailing and burning our defenceless cities, plundering our plantations, and stealing our negroes, is a mode of warfare little calculated to break our national spirit, or advance her own renown—she has further discovered the important and mortifying secret, that the United States have already done more to humble her national pride, and tarnish her naval glory, than Europe combined had been able to effect for a century past. She finds that a further prosecution of this war, will expose her commerce to become a prey to the daring enterprise of our citizens, and that a passion for military and naval glory has been suddenly roused into existence, and may soon become a predominate feeling among our countrymen. Deeply is it the interest of England to repress the growth of this feeling, and to throw us back into those peaceful pursuits we were enjoying three years since—her true interest consists in indulging us in our love of ease, in cherishing our passion for gain, and in converting us if possible into a nation of happy agriculturalists, and luxurious mer-

chants—these are the imperious circumstances which have induced Great Britain to lower her tone, and relinquish those sine qua nons with which she opened her diplomatic budget—and these are the causes which I conceive will lead to a speedy and honorable peace on the part of the United States, notwithstanding the fears and predictions of a faction to the contrary—this event being accomplished, it does not require the gift of prophecy to foretel the course Great Britain will pursue—she will direct her attention and energies *towards South America and Mexico* John Bull will be dazzled by the splendor of the project—the commerce and treasures of a new and vast empire must be opened to British cupidity—her manufacturers, artisans, and merchants will dwell with rapture on the prospect, and should the British cabinet have the wisdom and policy to hold out to their subjects and the world, that the object is to break the shackles, and give freedom to seventeen millions of people, it would become the most popular undertaking the British nation were ever engaged in.

This event may be retarded or facilitated according to the arrangements that may be ultimately adopted by the congress of Vienna—Great Britain will no doubt be cautious of exciting the jealousy of other European nations as well as Spain, but as the object in view embraces the possession and spoil of the new world, it is not improbable that by offering a participation in the advantages, Great Britain may thus obtain the assent and co-operation of those powers which might otherwise endeavor to thwart her views.

I conceive it unnecessary to pursue any further arguments to demonstrate the necessity and policy of the United States, stepping timely forward to secure a share of those advantages which a combination of circumstances have fortunately placed within our reach.

My object is to excite an enquiry on this interesting subject, so as to enable us promptly to decide on the following points.

First. Whether it be not the interest of the United States to have an early understanding with the provinces of South America, more especially with the great empire of Mexico, and to assist in emancipating the latter from Spain, by adopting the means heretofore suggested?

Second. Whether the recent conduct of Spain, by allowing her territory to be used by Great Britain for our annoyance, is not an act of hostility, which will completely justify us in treating Spain as an enemy?

Third. Whether Great Britain cannot be materially frustrated in her future views of aggrandisement, by our alliance with the Mexicans, and we profit in the same ratio as Britain will experience injury?

Fourth. Whether the cabinet of England will not avail itself (the first favorable opportunity) of the great power an alliance with, or controul over Mexico and South America, would give her over the future destinies of the United States, and whether this should not be the object to be dreaded and averted by every exertion in our power at the earliest moment?

These are the material points to which all the foregoing observations are directed, and to which the writer invites a spirit of investigation among those of his countrymen whose talents may enable them to do more justice than is in his power, to a subject of such magnitude.

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ERRATA.

Page 17, line 9th, for "*Spain*" read "*Mexico*."

23, 17th, for "*carelessly*" read "*fearlessly*."

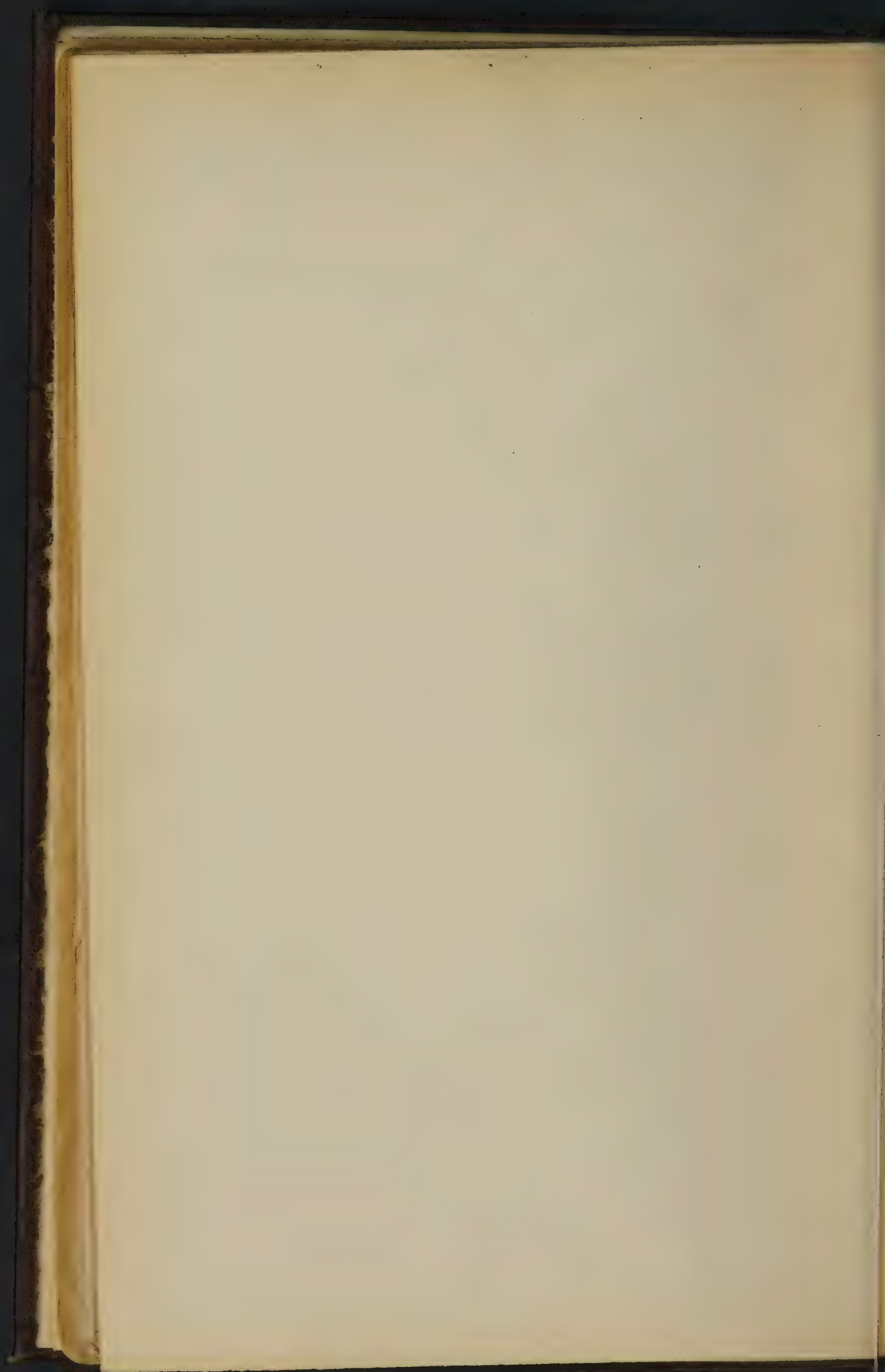
26, 1st, for "*or*" read "*on*."

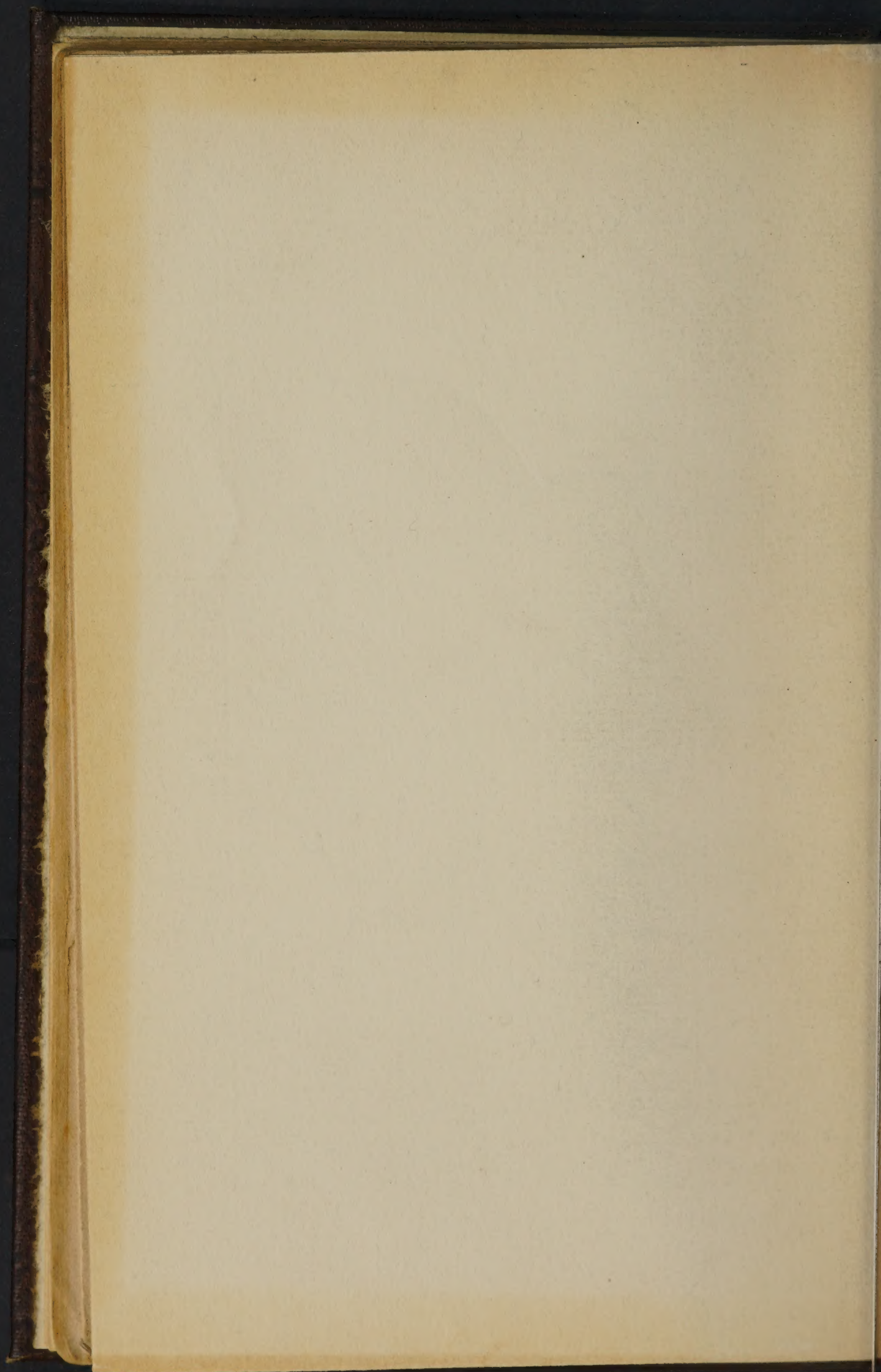
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